1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

624 the Parpattikāran to be present on the occasion of the Kannikattu (pregnancy) ceremony.

291 A quarter of a century ago, a Badaga could be at once picked out from the other tribes of the Nīlgiris by 000 his wearing a turban. But, in the present advanced age, not only does the Toda sometimes appear in the national head-dress, but even Irulas and Kurumbas, who only a short time ago were buried in the jungles, living like pigs and bears on roots, honey and other forest produce, turn up on Sundays in the Kotagiri bazar, clad in 291 turban and coat of English cut. And, as the less civilised tribes don the turban, so the college student abandons this picturesque form of head-gear in favour of the less becoming and less washable porkpie cap, while the Badaga men and youths glory in a knitted night-cap of flaring red or orange hue. The body of the Badaga man is covered by a long body-cloth, sometimes with red and blue stripes, wrapped "so loosely that, as a man works in the fields, he is obliged to stop between every few strokes of his hoe, to gather up his cloth, and threw 301 one end over his shoulder." Male adornment is limited to gold ear-rings of a special pattern made by Kotas or goldsmiths, a silver waist-thread, silver bangle on the 291 wrist, and silver, copper, or brass rings. The women wear a white body-cloth, a white under-cloth tied round the chest, tightly wrapped square across the breasts, and reaching to the knees, and a white cloth worn like a cap 304 on the head. As types of female jewelry and tattooing, the following examples may be cited :—

1. Tattooed on forehead with dashes, circles and crescent; spot on chin; double row of dots on each upper arm over deltoid; and devices and double row of 301 dots on right forearm. Gold ornament in left nostril. Necklets of glass beads and silver links with four-anna

301 piece pendent. Silver armlet above right elbow. Four copper armlets above left elbow. Four silver and seven composition bangles on left forearm. Two silver rings on right ring-finger; two steel rings on left ring-finger.

304 2. Tattooed on forehead; quadruple row of dots over right deltoid; star on right forearm.

3. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and upper arm. Spot on chin; elaborate device on right forearm; rayed star or sun on back of hand.

4. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and arm. Triple row of dots on back and front of left wrist, and double row of dots, with circle surrounded by dots, across chest.

[301] [614] Toreya women are only allowed to wear bangles on the wrist.

The tattoo marks on the foreheads of Udayar women consist of a crescent and dot, and they have a straight line tattooed at the outer corners of the eyes. Women of the other sub-divisions have on the forehead two circles with two vertical dashes between them, and a horizontal or crescentic dash below. The circles are made by pricking in the pigment over an impression made with a finger ring, or over a black mark made by means of such a ring. The operation is performed either by a Badaga [824] or Korava woman. The former uses as needles the spines of *Carissa spinarum*, and a mixture of finely powdered charcoal or lamp-black mixed with rice gruel The marks on the forehead are made when a girl is about eight or nine years old, and do not, as stated by Mr. Natesa Sastri, proclaim to the whole Badaga world that a girl is of marriageable age.

142 In colour the Badagas are lighter than the other hill tribes, and the comparative pallor of the skin is specially noticeable in the females, whom, with very few excep-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Pl. 3

[following p. 248-C]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Pl. 4

[following p. 248-D]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Pl. 6

[following p. 248-F]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbaṭṭi), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṭe:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:txuḷy).

301 643 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch. O:ranaṛi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

302 759 Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

000 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

177 764 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

243 231 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

476 291 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ṛkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

778 782 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṭe:ri.

623 632 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

[p. 25]

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

teenth century because they were being pursued by Muslim soldiers who wanted to marry Badaga girls (some of whom were unusually fair and attractive). To avoid such a dishonour befalling a Hindu family these refugees adopted a style of feminine dress that was seemingly copied from that of the low-status Kota tribe, and also tattooed the woman's brow (Benbow 1930: 1-3; Karl 1945: 1; Kariabettan 1958: 6). This was not the only change in costume to be stimulated by the Muslims, however; it is said of Tippu Sultan that, "seeing a Lingayat woman selling curds in the streets without a body-cloth, he ordered the cutting off of her breasts. As a result of which act the wearing of long garments came into use among the whole female population of Mysore" (Thurston 1903:191). Word of this change in fashion, and of the fanatic prudery of Tippu, undoubtedly reached the Badagas (some 10 per cent of whom were Lingayats too). Yet they may have begun covering the breasts even before this gruesome event, simply on account of the cold weather at 5,000-8,000 feet.

2.15. For at least the past two centuries the dress of Badaga women has consisted essentially of three cloths. One is a triangular head-cloth tied across the brow and behind the ears, and falling down behind over the hair and neck. It is worn by all married women. A second cloth is a loincloth folded over double, wrapped around the waist and falling to a few inches below the knees. Their dress is completed with the third cloth, half the size of the loincloth, which passes over the breasts but under the arms, and reaches to the waist: this cloth is kept in position by two red bands, two inches wide, one (*odekaṇṇi* or *sate*) passing over the upper chest and under the arms, the other (*puka:su*) going round the waist. Both are tied tightly, leaving the shoulders bare and creating a baggy effect in front below the bosom. One scurrilous folktale of the Todas has it that the Badagas are descended from a marriage with a female black langur, and that their women therefore have to carry a supply of leaves under these baggy upper cloths for their food supply! The cloths are nowadays of white cotton, although one occasionally sees a sky-blue head-dress, and 40 years ago red ones were in fashion. A woman's adornment is traditionally complete if she has a small tattoo in the middle of her brow, a gold ring in one nostril, a pair of large gold earrings, and a gold chain round the neck to indicate her married status. Heavy brass bangles formerly adorned the upper arm, while bracelets and toerings of silver are still common (Ward

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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1821: lxxii; Shortt 1868: 60; Rhiem 1900: 508-09; Francis 1908: 130; Thurston 1909: 81; Tignous 1911: 116; Benbow 1930: 13-15; Verghese 1963: 419).

In the nineteen-thirties a small number, who had been to high school or who had cultural contacts with Tamilian women from the plains of Madras, started giving up this traditional white dress for multi-coloured *sa:ris*. Today only the older Badaga women can be seen in traditional dress. In the nineteen-forties high school girls began wearing jackets. Today at the English-language private schools in the Nilgiris one occasionally meets Badaga girls in full English school uniform, including a short skirt; and the word "miniskirt" has actually passed into the Badaga language, even though the article has never been seen in their villages. Since 1950 blouses covering the upper arms and shoulders have become popular. Another innovation is underwear: since the nineteen-fifties all young women have worn brassieres, and underpants are worn by all schoolgirls.

2.16. The basic dress of the men is a loincloth (*muṇḍu*) worn over a breechclout that is kept in place by a string around the waist; the doubled-over loincloth reaches to the ankle, but is commonly pulled up to the knees. A cloak or blanket is wrapped around the upper part of the body, and a turban of cotton or silk sits loosely around the head. Traditionally no footwear was worn, for fear of offending the diety they walked upon; but in the nineteenth century men began wearing leather boots and sandals which had been purchased locally. Men's shoes came into use early in the present century. A distinctive pair of gold earrings, perhaps a silver finger-ring, and an umbrella or walking-stick complete the men's apparel. The elaborately embroidered cloak (*pugaru si:le* in Baḍagu) of the Todas is also favoured by older men, and is virtually a mark of office for village headmen. At the turn of this century men started wearing European-style jackets and trousers; but before that they had adopted shirts, which hang outside the loincloth; Kashmir shawls in red, orange, green or blue wool have also been popular with the men since the 1920s. "Pork-pie" caps, coloured nightcaps, and "Gandhi" caps have likewise been fashionable alternatives to the turban for some time. By mid-century the pubic cloth was giving way to cotton shorts or Western-style underpants, except among older men. (Ward 1821: lxxii; Shortt 1868: 60; Grigg 1880: 220: Francis 1908; 130; Thurston 1909: 81; Tignous 1911: 116; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247.)

2.17. This account of Badaga appearance will not be complete

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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without some further notes on body ornaments. Men as well as women usually wear gold earrings, which are still made from melted gold sovereigns. Women also have gold nose-rings, always worn in the left nostril. Gold, silver or brass armlets may be worn by women just above the right elbow. Numerous silver, gold or glass bangles will be on the wrists; men too wore a silver bangle and silver or copper toe-rings until 50 years ago. Silver or steel rings are worn on the fingers of both sexes (Thurston 1909: 81-82). Necklaces of great variety are also favoured by girls. In general, where gold ornaments are too costly women wear them in filagree silver, brass, copper, iron or steel instead (Grigg 1880: 220). Badagas believe that if a person wears gold, the length of his lifetime will be greater. One might think that wearing gold invited theft; but in fact it seems that this did not often occur amongst the Badagas. Throughout the nineteenth century men, when travelling from village to village, carried a walking-staff with a small axe-head in lieu of the handle, for protection. When however they were to walk to the plains on a trading expedition (prior to 1825) they would first divest themselves of all ornaments, including even their silver waist-bands and any richly made cloak. They were clearly very afraid of brigands, even though they travelled in a group of up to 100 men.

This still does not complete the list of ornaments, however. Priests wear a silver ring during each festival. Some of the headmen wear gold or silver "rings of office" on their fingers, given to their ancestors by East India Company officials or even earlier chieftains of Mysore. The headman of Ke:ti wears one called *sinaganige*, which his ancestor seems to have taken from another Badaga headman after a hand-to-hand fight. It is now worshipped in his home every Monday. Such rings can always be given as security against a fine, and are conventionally worth 1,000 rupees in gold coins. Women who go barefoot — still the great majority today — wear silver rings on three or four toes of each foot. (In Southern India slippers are associated mainly with Muslim women and Hindu dancing girls.)

Until about 1930, it was the custom for men to carry non-collapsible umbrellas made of palm leaves on a cane frame. (Such umbrellas can still be seen in Kerala occasionally.) Since the Nilgiri Plateau is very wet for a part of the year (roughly 20 ins. in May-July, and another 30 ins. the rest of the year), these or their more recent Western equivalents often substitute for a walking stick. Until very recently it was thought disrespectful to the men for women to carry

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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K. Sithamma (1891-1976), therapist and midwife

[p. 120-A]

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

of the girl with twenty-five male relatives bring the girl to the future husband's village on the day appointed for the marriage. Three or five women related to the bridegroom receive her. The girl stands opposite to the house of the bridegroom. An elderly lady of the bridegroom's family brings from inside the house two big pots. One she keeps to herself and the other she gives to the girl. All the while the Torayas and Kôṭas who are the mighty musicians of the occasion play music without cessation, and to the accompaniment of this melody they all proceed to the river. Both the pots are filled with water, and the elderly woman and the young would-be wife enter the bridegroom's house with water, while music is incessantly pouring out from the heavy pipes of the Kôṭa musicians and the mouths of the Baḍaga females. The pots are placed inside in the central room, and then the girl falls at the feet of every one assembled there to take part in the marriage ceremonies and she becomes from that day forward a member of that house. The elderly lady by taking her out to the river to fetch water has taught her as it were her household duties in her future husband's house. Before the wife is brought down from her parents' house a small fee, called generally the cloth fee,—*Śila-haṇê*—which is five fanams or 1¼ Rupees is given, together with her price which may be a pretty large amount, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 according to the qualifications of the girl as a good labouring woman in the field. A feast is celebrated in the house on the marriage day at which all people assembled there sit down to eat. This is the whole ceremony of the Baḍaga marriage and the feast closes it. Sometimes a marriage badge—especially among the Uḍaya class—is tied round the neck of the bride. It consists of a gold medal containing the representations of Śiva and Pârvati.

The tie thus formed, however, is not of an absolutely binding nature, for though the young pair now begin to live as husband and wife they may separate at any moment after the marriage described above, provided the *Śila-haṇê* or cloth fee, and the price for the wife originally paid, are returned to the husband. No present or anything to show good relationship is made by the wife's-parents to the husband or *vice versâ*, till the wife is about to become a mother. Then a ceremony is performed which is called *Śimanta*. This name is a pure Âryan one and the Baḍagas must have borrowed it from the high caste Hindus. This ceremony which is called *Śimanta* goes also by another more significant name of *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭédu* among the Baḍagas, meaning the ceremony of the tying of the cord